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A L F R E D
O R A
N A R R A T I V E
O F T H E
DARING AND ILLEGAL MEASURES TO SUPPRESS
A PAMPHLET INTITULED,
STRICTURES ON THE DECLARATION
O F
H O R N E T O O K E, E S Q.
R E S P E C T I N G
“ H E R R O Y A L H I G H N E S S
T H E
P R I N C E S S O F W A L E S , ”
C O M M O N L Y C A L L E D
M R S. F I T Z H E R B E R T.
W I T H I N T E R E S T I N G
R E M A R K S O N A R E G E N C Y ;
P R O V I N G , O N P R I N C I P L E S O F L A W A N D C O M M O N S E N S E
T H A T A C E R T A I N I L L U S T R I O U S P E R S O N A G E I S N O T
E L I G I B L E T O T H E I M P O R T A N T T R U S T .

 The Narrative contains a Reference to those Parts of the Pamphlet which caused the Alarm, and the Names of the illustrious Personages in PALL-MALL interested in this LAWLESS Attack on the SACRED FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—THE PRIVILEGES OF PARLIAMENT—AND THE COMMON RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

N E W E D I T I O N , E N L A R G E D .

L O N D O N :

P R I N T E D F O R T H E A U T H O R , A N D S O L D A T N o . 9
Q U E E N - S T R E E T , G R O S V E N O R - S Q U A R E .
M , D C C , L X X X I X .

[P R I C E , O N E S H I L L I N G A N D S I X P E N C E .]





E X O R D I U M.

A Man, in a state of nature, has no Superior but the God who made him. Life, Liberty, and the Produce of his labors are exempt from human controul. *

If he conceive it conducive to happiness to submit to the restraints of Society, it is his duty to repel—by force of arms, if necessary—all attacks on the **DIGNITY** and **SACRED RIGHTS** of man.

He is not to be intimidated by the threats of a **TYRANT**, nor awed into captivity by a presumptuous appeal to the **DIVINE** inheritance of Kings.

On all great emergencies, he is to revert to the first principles of social life. In concert with his fellow-citizens, he is to vindicate the original and sacred compact of Society. What **ought** to be is the only question, which freemen can condescend to agitate. Whatever has been obtained by fraud or violence, they will disregard or repeal.

* Remarks on the Regency.

Hence

Hence the importance of public intercourse—of a pure, unfettered source of communication. The moment the hand of power prevails over the freedom of the press, we are a RUINED PEOPLE.

It has been said, TRUTH is a LIBEL—and, *the greater the truth, the greater the libel.* I hope, for the honor of human nature, this doctrine has no existence but in the breast of *Lord Mansfield.*

Gracious Heaven! if fact and falsehood be equally criminal, we are doomed to ETERNAL SILENCE!! The press, instead of being consecrated to freedom, will be the degraded vehicle of the Eulogium of a Minister, or the Panegyric of a Tyrant!!

I am not ambitious of popular applause. Satisfied with the approbation of conscience, I neither court the smiles, nor dread the frowns of any created Being; * but I solemnly pledge myself to encounter imprisonment and even death, rather than submit to

* The first edition of this pamphlet was without the Author's name; but when Mr. Ridgeway declined the sale, the Author was reduced to the alternative of publishing his own name, or of exposing honest men to the resentments of the PARTY, for, by act of Parliament, there is a heavy penalty for publishing without some responsible person's name.

lemnly



a bondage too abject to be endured. And if any thing which I can do, or suffer, be ultimately serviceable to the cause of freedom, or tend to emancipate my country from arbitrary violence, I shall be abundantly rewarded by the conscious rectitude of my intentions, and the success of the enterprize.

If I have passed the limits of moderation, or inadvertently expressed my sentiments in terms of TREASON, or DEFAMATION, I shall embrace the opportunity of evincing my reverence for the laws, by a dutiful submission to the atonement they demand. But let a JURY of my PEERS—the *Guardian Angels of the Realm*—first pronounce me GUILTY. Let me be accused, convicted, and condemned in the Process established by the wisdom of our ancestors.

Rather than permit a PRINCE of the BLOOD, or the PARTIZANS of a FACTION to ROB me of my property, and detain my Sentiments from public view, I will *perish*.

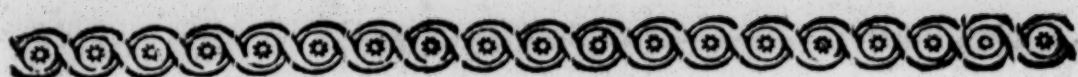
The *immediate* consequences of the injustice of which I complain are purely personal, but the *remote* and *incidental* will be general and alarming. If the mandate of a Prince of Wales be suffered to intercept the productions of the Press, and ROB a Citizen with impunity

impunity, I predict a system of persecution to which the iniquities of the *Star-Chamber* were unimportant trifles.

But I have not the most distant apprehension that a measure of such violence will be countenanced in a court of Law. I even venture to affirm, that no man will be so corrupt in Principle, or abandoned in Practice, as to avow himself the Advocate of such lawless Proceedings. And yet I am apprized of the friendship which Mr. Erskine entertains for the PARTY, and of his zeal to vindicate their Fame. But if he have the temerity to come forward on the present occasion, I will certainly embrace the opportunity of asking him by what secret Maxims in Law, or mysterious Analogies in Equity, an Individual may assume the Office of JUDGE, JURY, and EXECUTIONER. Not that I mean to combat him in a war of WORDS. I shall simply prove that my Property has been illegally detained, and then leave the learned Gentleman to display his eloquence in the vain attempt to extenuate the infamy of his employers.

PHILIP WITHERS.

SLOAN SQUARE,
Jan. 19, 1789.



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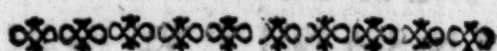
The REGENCY.

† This is the Conversation Piece.

ADVER.



ADVERTISEMENT.



The Editor throws himself on the indulgence of the Public for several Press Errors in the Quarto Pamphlet, to which this Narrative alludes.

The principal are, *King's can do wrong*, instead of, *King's can do no wrong*.* *Traduced BY impiety*, instead of, *traduced FOR impiety*.†

Three Printing Houses being employed in the work, with the great emergency of the Business, caused some shades of difference in the colour of the paper of Page 67 to 69.

* Page 84.

† Page 47.

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O F T H E
O R I G I N
O F T H E
P A M P H L E T.

I Do not deny that my supreme design was to serve my country, by supporting Mr. PITT.

My attachment to this gentleman is sincere and honorable.* I believe him to be a PATRIOT, and influenced by principles as pure and disinterested as the present state of mortality will admit.

I should not be entitled to belief, were I to pronounce the Minister PERFECT. Perfection is the attribute of Deity. I candidly own that some parts of Mr. PITT's political life, I desire to forget. And some parts of Mr. Fox's political life, I desire to retain in grateful remembrance.

But in the important question, *to whom ought the Prince to entrust the subordinate-government of the kingdom?* I find no difficulty in answering, Mr. PITT will be the man——if the conservation of the just Prerogatives of the Crown, and the sacred privileges of the People—the extension of com-

* I have occasionally written in defence of Mr. Pitt's ministry, ever since his accession to power. But never received a shilling; neither actually nor by promise.

merce, with the glory and happiness of the realm—be of greater estimation with his Highness, than the friendships of a Card Table, or the attachments of the Turf.

Were it consistent with the system of policy termed the CONSTITUTION, for the People to controul * the supreme Magistrate in his choice of Ministers, his Highness would soon be informed in whom, alone, they can repose with confidence, the protection of LIFE, PRIVILEGE, and PROPERTY.

¶ I was induced to solicit public attention to my sentiments on the Regency, from a report that Mr. Pitt, in expressing a noble abhorrence of Mr. Fox's doctrine of *hereditary* right, had passed the limits of the Constitution.

And I now repeat, with additional ardor and conviction, that so far from passing the limits of the constitution, the Minister has too much modesty, or too little courage *to proceed to the point of duty.* † It is, however, no more than justice to acknowledge, that sufficient has been accomplished to secure him present applause, and to render his name dear to the remotest ages of the world.

¶ To corroborate the conclusions in my Pamphlet, I ask permission to subjoin a few detached remarks on political controul. And I hope the Reverend Editors of the Herald—the General Advertiser—and of those *Apostate Papers*, who have made their peace, by the costly sacrifice of virtue and freedom, will recommend the Author and his maxims to the Public by OPPOSITION and ABUSE;

* Though the People cannot, constitutionally, CONTRoul, they may PETITION. Sat verbum sapienti.

† See the arguments on the RESPONSIBILITY of the Prince of Wales.

for by a new mode of confirmation, those Gentlemen establish Truth by the arguments with which they oppose it.——I have nothing to dread but their PRAISE.

POWER ORIGINATES WITH THE PEOPLE.

REMARKS. By no argument human or divine can it be proved, that Man, in a state of nature has any Superior—the Deity excepted.

When men quit their native forests, and form a community, they frame laws suitable to cultivated life, and appoint a man, or a set of men to put them in force.

This is the origin of the EXECUTIVE authority.

As it is inconvenient for a whole Nation to assemble and legislate, Deputies are chosen for that purpose.

And this is the origin of PARLIAMENTS.

¶ POWER originates in PROPERTY. And as all men, by the laws of Nature, have property in *Life*, in *Liberty* and in the *Produce of their Labors*, the power of legislation is, *virtually*, in the INDIVIDUAL; and, by compact, *actually* in the PARLIAMENT.*

A British Sovereign is the MAJESTY of the WHOLE COMMUNITY concentered in one Citizen. Nothing on Earth can be more glorious.

* I speak with particular reference to the British Constitution.

The THRONE has no power of *positive* legislation. Because it is inconsistent with the dignity of BRITONS to obey the will of an INDIVIDUAL in matters where Life, Liberty, and Possessions are interested. The essential attribute of the Throne is power to EXECUTE, and power to PROTECT—to execute the People's Will, and to protect it's own Prerogatives. Hence it is armed with a NEGATIVE interposition. But should a Sovereign persevere in the exercise of this negative interposition—*unsolicited by the People*, and without any reasonable plea of preserving his Prerogatives—he would be justly confined as a MADMAN, or dethroned as a TYRANT. If this be not an aphorism of reason and law, the House of Hanover has no claim to our allegiance ; George the Third is a Usurper ; and the Descendant of James is our legal sovereign.

~~~~~

IT IS CONDUCIVE TO THE HAPPINESS OF A STATE, TO HAVE THE POWERS, PERFECTIONS, AND ATTRIBUTES OF IT'S COMPONENT PARTS WELL DEFINED.

~~~~~

It is absurd, to a degree of being eminently ridiculous, to term any question ABSTRACT and UNNECESSARY, when the solution has a tendency to ascertain the boundaries of the Constitution.

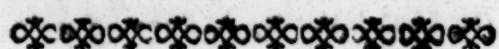
But if it be a question of RIGHT—a question of contingent importance to the peace of the Realm, it is the INDISPENSABLE DUTY of Ministers to seize the first opportunity of bringing it to an issue.

I am

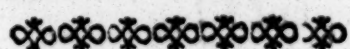
I am not the panegyrist of Mr. Pitt. But it would be unpardonable in an advocate for freedom to withhold his tribute of applause. By submitting the question of RIGHT to Parliament—in defiance of the threatening aspect of political events—he acted like a PATRIOT and a HERO.

On the other hand, for deserting the People in the moment of their fate—for sacrificing the rights of Parliament at the shrine of the Prince—the once illustrious leader of the Opposition deserves to be branded with ETERNAL INFAMY.

Such, I am convinced, will be the language of the Historian in future ages, when personal interests and animosities are forgotten.



OF THE RIGHT TO SUPPLY DEFECTS IN THE SYSTEM OF POWERS TERMED THE CONSTITUTION.



If the Executive Power be suspended, Parliament is COMPETENT TO DICTATE on the occasion.

But were no Parliament in being, the Power would revert instantly to the PEOPLE—I mean to the Boroughs and Corporations of the Realm.

The Hypothesis I grant is improbable, yet physically possible—Suppose a combination of causes, similar to that by which our gracious Sovereign is deprived of reason, were to attack the Prince Regent—suppose also
that

that DEATH or INSANITY were to deprive Parliament of the assistance of the Lords—are the dearest interests of the country to be abandoned to foreign invasion, or domestic violence? No. That OMNIPOTENCE which lately invested Mr. Grenville with the dignities of Speaker, could, with equal conformity to the eternal laws of justice and nature, fill the the THRONE, or restore the PEERAGE.

By what mode? By a silly, degrading FICTION (it is with reluctance I oppose what Mr. Pitt approves) or by a noble, constitutional avowal of the IMMEDIATE RIGHT, POWER, and AUTHORITY so to do?

By resorting to a FICTION, we tacitly admit, that POWER descends from the Throne to the People, instead of the Converse of the mode, *from the People to the Throne.*

But what do we gain by this political TRANSUBSTANTIATION; Nothing tangible by common sense. It is a rotular process unworthy enlightened Minds. The Parliament authorises a Commission to authorise Parliament to appoint a Regent!!

A scheme of legislation so hostile to the dictates of reason, was adopted, I presume, by Mr. Pitt, on principles of politeness. It springs from the imagination of some man wedded to the Great Seal—to the *ideal* powers of the Constitution.

But need I remind this tremendous Senator that an Effect can have no more of Entity than the Cause of it's Existence.—That *ex nihilo fit nihil?*—and that *quod facis per alterum, facis per teipsum?*

If

If Parliament cannot legislate *de jure*, it cannot legislate by DELEGATED agency ; because the Agent cannot receive that which is not in the power of the Principal to bestow. And on this assumption, there will be no more allegiance due from us to the NEW APPOINTMENT, than to the Congress of America, or the Emperor of Japan.

¶ I also beg leave to repeat my former position concerning the RESPONSIBILITY of a Prince of Wales, supposing such a person were ever to be the Regent of this Country. And on this ground I despise the insults, and defy the arguments of the Partizans of Faction.

A Prince of Wales, unless the Throne be declared vacant, cannot be invested with the PERFECTIONS and ESSENTIAL ATTRIBUTES of the Sovereign. The ministry of such a Prince Regent will be RESPONSIBLE to him ALONE. Under his authority, they may commit the most enormous depredations with IMPUNITY. No law, in present existence, will touch them in person or property. The sign manual of the regent will be an absolution from all offences. I have great, legal authority to support me in this assertion.

The Prince, indeed, is amenable to Parliament. He may be impeached, and tried by his Peers. But give me leave to ask, in serious solemnity, by what parliament would he be impeached ? By a Parliament DEVOTED TO HIS WILL ? The supposition is ridiculous. But let it be admitted that the Sovereign recovers, and that no arts are practised to deprive him of his Throne—I desire to know the nature of that offence which is sufficient to disrobe a Prince a Wales of his personal privileges, and to expose

expose him to the resentments of the laws?—to the pains and and penalties of a criminal?

And let it be remembered, that on the hypothesis of the Sovereign's Demise, the enormities of the Prince Regent and his Ministers must pass into OBLIVION.

Such is the present perilous state of our dearest concerns. But it rests with the Patriotism of Mr. Pitt to crown his glorious achievements by FULL and EFFECTUAL restrictions. Let him take the Poet's advice, *festina lente*. Let him be cautious, and in manly contempt of Print-shops, and prostitute publications, keep the reigns 'till the KING and the PEOPLE are secure.

But it may be urged in reply—there is no danger that the Prince of Wales will abuse the royal prerogatives, if parliament condescend to transfer them. I am not competent to determine what a day may bring forth. This I know, had not the Cabinet Ministers of Queen Anne been awed by an absurd delicacy, we should not, at this moment, be destitute of the executive energy of the realm. They ventured to suppose Her Majesty might DIE, and made provision in the bill accordingly; but they had not fortitude to intimate that Her Majesty might also be MAD.

I know many people, who hold Offices under the Prince of Wales, and many who are in expectation of that honor, and they all assure me that His Highness is very GOOD and very GRACIOUS. But, supposing this testimony admissible, it is no argument that SEVERE restraints are not necessary for his political friendships, whom all the world believes to be neither GOOD nor GRACIOUS.

GRACIOUS. Mr. Fox asserts that Lord North is not to be trusted,* and Lord North declares that Mr. Fox is actuated solely by the love of power. It would be ungenerous to question their veracity : they are in habits of intimacy, and know each other well.

The just Prerogatives of the Throne, and the Privileges of the People are, inseparable. But how well so ever they harmonie in theory, they are usually hostile in practice. In the present crisis, the King's Friends and the Advocates of the People are the same men. To what discrimination of character, then, are they entitled, under what order of Statement are they to be classed, who are in equal opposition to the Prerogatives of the Sovereign, and the Privileges of the people? They are men *SUI GENERIS*; and I wish Mr. Fox would condescend inform me by what appellation I may have the honor to distinguish them, in the next edition of this Narrative.



Of the levities prefixed to the Remarks on the Regency, I shall only say—they are, in general, founded on fact, though diversified by romantic embellishments; for *quid vetat ridentem dicere vera?* They contribute to the circulation of my political creed, and to the accomplishment of my supreme design.

I feel particular satisfaction at the commendations bestowed on the conversation piece between the PRINCE and LADY * * * * HERBERT. I hope Parliament will avail themselves of the opportunity of expelling those

* See Speeches in Parliament.

unworthy Members, who affirmed that Her Royal Highness is a * * * * *----an *unmarried Lady*.

The scene between CANTERBURY and YORK has also been honored with public approbation, and, (I am speaking of the *sentimental* part of the conversation) DESERVEDLY, for do the annals of any *Protestant* Country under Heaven contain an instance of such perversion of Holy writ? * or the Apotheosis of a Pagan Emperor more abject adulation?

Whom thou hast been pleased to afflict FOR OUR TRANSGRESSIONS!! † Highly as I reverence the Sovereign for his virtues, I believe he has a debt of sufficient magnitude to discharge on his own account. He has not any righteousness to spare for his people. It is a strain of flattery which no human excellence can justify—the spawn of popery, engendered in impiety and ignorance.

The Son of God, who came down to earth for the redemption of man, was truly *smitten and afflicted for our transgressions—the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by HIS STRIPES WE ARE HEALED.* ‡ His life was a continued scene of dignity and benevolence. He gave sight to the Blind, strength to the Infirm, and animation to the Dead; and though armed with a power that shook the earth to it's centre, and covered the sun with darkness, he meekly bowed his Head on the Cross, and FINISHED the SALVATION of his people.

Read your bibles, my Lords of Canterbury and York, and contrast this awful personage with our MEDIATOR

* In the Prayer for the King.

† Public Prayer.

‡ The Prophet speaks of BELIEVERS.

at Kew. The uncreated glories of JESUS beam through the veil of humanity, and the God is perpetually *manifested in the flesh*? But our EPISCOPAL REDEEMER is working out the salvation of his subjects by playing *Hop-Frog* with his Pages, or *One and Thirty* with—Warren!! *Credat Judæus*. May a pious Ejaculation be offered up for your Lordships, when the Minister reads your matchless composition to the people.

But I anticipate your Lordship's defence—*Ubi delirant Reges plebuntur Achivi*—And I admit it to be a very delicate mode of publishing your Creed.

In plain English, your Lordships conceive that OUR TRANSGRESSIONS have provoked Almighty God to bring the Prince of Wales, and his political friendships into power; and you are distressed lest the divine vengeance should be extended to the Prerogatives of the Crown—the liberties of the people—and the dignity and happiness of the realm.

It is no more than justice to acknowledge that your fears are well grounded. And yet I must request the honor of sitting at your Lordship's feet for instruction. Had it been the will of Heaven to devote this country to the calamities apprehended, would not the Sovereign have been removed to a better world? And ought we not to avail ourselves of the divine Forbearance, and to the utmost of our power avert the destruction which threatens us? Not by recourse to *prayers*----for we are a sinful people, and the prayers of the Wicked never prevail---but to a system of COERCION sufficient to

keep those spirits in awe, who are expected to wander through the Empire, seeking whom they may devour.

I am this moment informed, that Mr. Pitt has triumphantly carried the RESTRICTIONS through the Commons—And that the PARTY complain, that he has disgraced the *Prince*, the *Parliament*, and the *Nation*. The complaint gives me pleasure; for I credit always the *Converse of their conclusions*.

Mr. Pitt has done well. But in the humble opinion of an individual, had an appeal been made to the people, and had a new Parliament voted the management of the country to the present ministry,* it would have been infinitely better. Fewer FORMS of the constitution had been violated than at present; and all the evils which a trembling people anticipate been avoided. But, perhaps, the expected Inquiry in the House of Lords, concerning the marriage of the Prince of Wales with a Papist, † may yet render this measure of appeal unavoidable.

* 'Till the King's death, or a declaration that he is incurable.

† Asserted by Mr. Horne Tooke.



T O
H I S R O Y A L H I G H N E S S
G E O R G E,
P R I N C E O F W A L E S:

May it please Your Royal Highness.

AS the son of the sovereign, I approach you with affection. And as the first magistrate of the realm,* I desire to address you in terms of distinguished respect.

For a detail of the affair to which I have the honor to solicit your attention, I refer Your Highness to the letter addressed to your Royal Consort. My present design is to state in what points of view I conceive Your Royal Highness to be **CONCERNED, INTERESTED, OR AFFECTED** by that lawless and desperate attack on the sacred Freedom of the Press, the Privileges of Parliament, and the common Rights of Citizens.

In the first place, I conceive Your Royal Highness **INTERESTED OR CONCERNED** in that lawless attack on the Freedom of the Press, because it is incumbent on you to vindicate your honor as a **GENTLMAN**. For let it be assumed, for the sake of the conclusion, that you gave countenance to the scheme of suppressing the Pamphlet, and what follows? Your Highness has no better claim than a highwayman to the distinctions of a man of honor; for fraud, falsehood, and meanness disgrace the whole proceeding

* I speak under obvious restrictions---if your Highness please to accept the Regency—and if your Highness be **QUALIFIED** to accept it.

As

As I am not warranted in asserting that the “**TWO PERSONS**” to whom Mr. Ridgway alludes in his letter, are Your Royal Highness and your illustrious Consort, I withdraw the imputation in *toto*, and transfer it to the unblushing leaders of the opposition.

I have a becoming reverence for the hereditary privileges of a Prince of Wales ; but I desire Your Highness to be persuaded, that I am not awed into submission to the will of man, by the accidental appendages of birth or fortune. I address you with ceremony and respect, because I am far from thinking that your sanction has been given to the injustice of which I complain. To attack the freedom of the press and the property of the subject, at the moment of your accession to the supremacy of the realm, is so contrary to every dictate of Policy and Common sense, that I am bound in candour to acquit Your Royal Highness, and to resolve the infamous outrage into **LUST** of **POWER**, by which your political friendships are obviously so infatuated, that the dread of popular abhorrence, and the respect due to the personal dignity of your Highness are insufficient to deter them from circumvention and violence. They have betrayed their sovereign, they have betrayed the people, and I have no ground of hope that the unsuspecting heart of the Prince of Wales will be proof against their enchantments.

The liberties of many States have been lost from inattention. But the People of England never suffer privileges to be violated with impunity. Especially they protect, with unremitting jealousy, the **FREEDOM** of the Press. And it is certainly unfortunate, that the ambition of your favorites should prompt them to an attack on the freedom of the Press, to a measure of **TYRANNY** and **FRAUD** in the very commencement of their political
career,

career, It is indeed a melancholy presage of the "PROSPECT BEFORE US," and cannot fail of spreading terror and alarm throughout the British Dominions,

It is unnecessary to state the mode of redress, which your Highness ought to pursue on the present occasion. I will only take the liberty to declare, that I am willing to afford every assistance in my power in the investigation of this dark, mysterious affair. And I feel the greater anxiety, because, in the Narrative subjoined, the presumptive proof of the interference of your Highness and your illustrious Consort is so strong, that a disregard of the imputation will be a tacit confession of the fact.

I have to request the further indulgence of your Royal Highness, while I assign my reasons for giving more credit to Mr. Horne Tooke's avowal of the union between your Highness and Mrs. Fitzherbert, than to the denial of that union in the House of Commons,

I. Because Mr Tooke's opinion was published in the face of day, in a pamphlet bearing his signature, and with the implied* SANCTION, PATRONAGE and APPROBATION of the King's Attorney General.

II. Because the said *John Horne Tooke, Esq.* assures the Public, that he speaks from *undoubted authority*—and privately avows a knowledge of the *Minister*, who had the honor of reading the Ceremony,

III. Because the *once illustrious* leader of the opposition, who denied the marriage in the House of Commons, is addicted to WORD-EATING—a term in use in the lower orders of society, and consequently unknown to your

* I mean a TACIT sanction——There is no information against him.

Highness

Highness. It is a species of verbal accommodation, happily described by Horace——

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, SI VOLET USUS.

Which your Highness will give me leave to translate, for the benefit of the Illiterate——“ Let INTEREST be the sacred rule of life. WORDS are only WIND. What you asserted Yesterday, you may deny to Day—and affirm again to Morrow, *si volet* USUS, if it be for your INTEREST.”

With this description of men, words are not used for the conveyance of sentiment. It can only be inferred from what they say, *sic vult* USUS. And INTEREST, I solemnly believe, was the sole inducement to the PARTY to question the *verbal* Prelude between your Highness and Mrs. Fitzherbert. They had not the effrontery to deny the CONSUMMATION.

¶ It is not my intention to raise a clamor again POPE-
RY. The heart is the only temple where the Deity can be worshipped with acceptance. *Forms* of devotion, are, with me, lighter than vanity. I leave every man to follow the dictates of conscience—*hanc Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim*.* But I think the profoundest reverence is due to an ACT OF PARLIAMENT. Your Highness is married to a PAPIST—I speak all along under this important restriction, *if credit may be given to John Horne Tooke Esq.*——and therefore by the 1 *W. & M. st. 2. c. 2. § 9.* Your Highness cannot—LEGALLY—be Regent or King of those Realms. And by the same SACRED authority “THE PEOPLE OF THESE REALMS ARE ABSOLVED OF THEIR ALLEGIANCE.”

¶ Mr. Tooke, with a liberality of sentiment that does him honor, hopes that no man will withdraw his allegi-
ance

* HORACE.

ance from your Highness, on account of the whims and fancies of your Consort.

And yet, perhaps, a lady's WHIM may be the cause of much public and domestic distress. It was the WHIM of our common ancestor Eve, which prompted her to an intrigue with the Devil, the first Gallant on record. It was the WHIM of Herodias that beheaded John the Baptist. And the WHIM of Mary that destroyed so many Christian Heroes in the flames of martyrdom. There, is nothing, in fact, that a lady will not do for the gratification of her WHIM. It was the WHIM of Lady Grosvenor that induced her to violate her vows, and go to bed to an idiot. It is to please her WHIM, that Lady Percy lives at a Barber's shop with Sayer, rather than with the Duke of Northumberland, in one of the first palaces in the kingdom.

Her Royal Highness may have children. It may be her WHIM to educate them in the principles of popery. And the good People of England may be put to the expence and trouble of another REVOLUTION.

Mr. Tooke further declares, that he KNOWS, from GOOD AUTHORITY, that Her Highness is willing to give proof of conformity to the established church. Then I request, on behalf of myself, and the Protestants of the realm, that her Highness will *read her recantation, according to law*. This will end, at once, every doubt, difficulty, and alarm.

I have the Honor to be,
With every Sentiment of Constitutional Respect,
Your Royal Highness' very obedient,
And very humble Servant,
PHILIP WITHERS.

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T O
H E R R O Y A L H I G H N E S S
T H E
P R I N C E S S O F *W A L E S*.

May it please Your Royal Highness,

AS Marriage is a question of fact, admitting an easy solution, it is greatly to be lamented that REASONS of STATE have so long exposed your Royal Highness to the obloquy of the world.

The declarations of your union with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, † was received with the utmost indulgence by men of sentiment and candor. It manifested a disposition in His Highness to shun a licentious intercourse with the Sex, and to acquiesce in the honorable satisfactions of the marriage bed. And when the Author assured us, that your Royal Highness was willing to give full and unequivocal proof of attachment to the Protestant Faith, every scruple was removed. We applauded the violation of a Law of Power, presumptuously aiming to controul AFFECTION, and sanctify ADULTERY; for a union of hands without a union of hearts is only LEGITIMATE ADULTERY. A thousand Victims may be sacrificed to this BARBAROUS POLICY, before another CHARLOTTE adorns the Throne.

† By John Horne Tooke, Esq.

As

As I have accidentally mentioned our most amiable; most excellent Queen, give me leave to recommend her life to your Highness' imitation. In the first and most important of all human concerns, Her Majesty is a glorious example of sincerity and perseverance. I have been informed by those who have the honor of being near her person, that Her Majesty does not place the Essence of RELIGION in a formal observance of established duties. It is the DEVOTION of the HEART which constitutes the Christian, in the just conceptions of our gracious Queen.

In the duties and endearments of domestic life, the Royal Matron is an ornament to her sex, and above all encomium.

And with a conduct equally honorable in public life, and beyond example CIRCUMSPECE in a moment of severe distress, the Queen has so entirely captivated the affections of the people, that Her Majesty would be IMMORTAL, if it depended on their suffrages.

When speaking of the sentiments of the people, I except the partizans of faction, the political friendships of the Prince of Wales.

I am astonished His Royal Highness does not spurn from his presence the author's of those infernal suggestions, which are aimed at the honor of His Royal Parent ! The degraded Papers of the PARTY contain sufficient provocation to rouse his resentments, if His Highness be not totally destitute of sensibility and filial regard. *

* We may shortly expect to hear the PARTY announce a PARAMOUR for the best of women. I trust the people will manifest a proper indignation at the Bruton-street MANAGER for what he has ALREADY written.

In proportion as your Royal Highness imitates the virtues of our excellent Queen, you may depend on the admiration and love of the people.

¶ In the letter, which I had the honor to address to His Royal Highness, I assigned a reason for not crediting the denial of your marriage, in the House of Commons. And give me leave to add, when the *once celebrated* Leader of the Opposition presumed to sacrifice Your Royal Highness to the interested views of the **PARTY**, I was transported with indignation. Because, from a situation the most honorable in the kingdom, it reduced you to a state of infamy and contempt. It proclaimed in the face of Day, and to the astonishment of the world, that a woman of birth, beauty, and independence was the **STRUMPET** of the Prince of Wales. And under this idea, I have no scale to measure your demerits. A poor, disconsolate female whom a villain has seduced, or the want of bread driven to public prostitution, is an angel of innocence in contrast with Mrs. FITZHERBERT.

But the moral turpitude of your offence, Madam, is eclipsed by the superior infamy of those, who countenance your guilt. A laudable Self Regard, a high commanding sense of virtue, ought to deter Ladies of Honor from an intercourse with HARLOTS.

I have, indeed, no difficulty in declaring, that the woman, who is ambitious of the company of the MISTRESS of the Prince of Wales, has no objection to be his WHORE. Let His Highness drop the handkerchief. Lady—— and the Dukes of —— are panting for the consummation of his wishes.

In this view of things, no Lady of virtue---no servant, mindful of the dignity of innocence, can condescend to notice you.

Bur

But though reduced to a dilemma, and compelled to pronounce Your Highness a WHORE, or the Leaders of Faction, LIARS, I am not prepared to resign an amiable woman to infamy. There is no part of your life, which justifies a conclusion unfavorable to virtue. On the other hand, Madam, the solemn protestations of the PARTY to impeach a noble Lord, whom they now embrace in political friendship, convince me they can swear whatever interest may demand, or resentment dictate.

But did not the Prince of Wales consent to the *instituted Ceremonies* of Marriage, knowing that they were illegal, invalid, and contrary to the Act of Restriction? An imputation so ruinous to the credit of His Royal Highness, I dare not assume, even in argument. If the Prince of Wales be capable of seducing a woman of virtue to his arms by an expedient so base and disgraceful, he is a MONSTER and not a MAN.

¶ I consider the Act of Restriction to be an Act of POWER, an act of OPPRESSION, an Act offensive to GOD and MAN. And in justification of this language, Your Royal Highness will have the goodness to suffer me to make a few Extracts from the Protest of the Lords.

“ To make the power of contracting Marriage dependent on the will of any man or set of men, during a person's whole life, is utterly incompatible with all Religion, natural and revealed, and therefore a mere Act of POWER, having neither the NATURE nor OBLIGATION of law.

We conceive, also, that this bill is pregnant with civil discord and confusion. Those who are in power may easily procure a Repeal of this Act, or the CONFIRMATION

MATION OF A MARRIAGE MADE CONTRARY TO IT.
 And a Pretender to the Crown may assert, that his Claim has been set aside by no other authority than that of an act, to which the legislature **WAS NOT COMPETENT**, as being contrary to the common Rights of mankind.

RICHMOND.	FITZWILLIAM.	DEVONSHIRE.
ABERGAVENNY.	STAMFORD.	ALBERMARLE
PORTLAND.	DORSET.	CRAVEN.
ABINGDON.	TORRINGTON.	JOHN BANGOR.
ROCKINGHAM.	MILTON.	

“ DISSENTIENT.

“ Because the liberty of marriage is a natural right inherent in mankind.

“ Because this Right is confirmed and enforced by the Holy Scriptures, which declare marriage to be of divine institution, and deny to none the benefit of that institution.

“ Because the law of Nature and divine institutions ARE NOT REVERSIBLE by the power of human legislatures.

TEMPLE.	CLIFTON.	ABINGDON.
RADNOR.	LYTTLETON.	CRAVEN.

But though I have this high authority for pronouncing it an Act of POWER, yet, as it was passed by the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, I cannot agree with Mr. Tooke that it has not the force of law. It certainly is law. Nor would the issue of Your Royal Highness and the Prince of Wales have any claim in LAW to the throne, were His Highness to die antecedently to his elevation to the Regency. But that very impression of the Great Seal, which invests him with the

the Supremacy, will ABSOLVE THE PEOPLE OF THEIR ALLEGIANCE.

On a Subject of final importance to the Commonwealth, it is necessary to be full and explicit. And in the first place, I will prove from the Protest of the Lords that a Prince REGENT is not affected by the bill of Restrictions.

“ This bill provides no remedy at any age, against the improvident marriage of the King reigning, the marriage of all others the most important to the Public.

“ It provides nothing against the indiscreet marriage of a Prince of the Blood, being REGENT at the age of twenty-one, nor furnishes any remedy against his permitting such marriages to others of the Blood-royal, the legal powers fully vesting in him as to this purpose, and without the assistance of his Council; we cannot therefore, on the whole, avoid expressing our strong disapprobation of an act shaking so many of the foundations of LAW, RELIGION, and PUBLIC SECURITY.”
(*Richmond*, and the Lords as before.

This is more than argument, it is demonstration, that the moment the Prince of Wales is made Regent, the marriage becomes LAW. Strictly speaking, it will not even be necessary to repeat the Marriage Vows. The TACIT ACQUIESCENCE of the regent sanctifies the deed. He is not bound to communicate even with his council.

Hence it is deducible, that His Royal Highness, on his elevation to the supremacy, must instantly command the marriage to be registered—or declare it ILLEGAL and VOID.

If

• If the marriage be registered, Your Royal Highness must instantly READ YOUR RECANTATION FROM THE ERRORS OF POPERY—or the nation will be ABSOLVED OF ITS ALLEGIANCE.

I have the honor of being

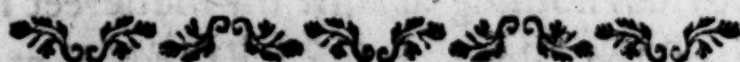
Your Royal Highness'

Most devoted,

And most obedient humble servant,

SLOAN-SQUARE,
CHELSEA.

PHILIP WITHERS.



STATEMENT OF FACTS.

ADDRESSED

TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES

THE

PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES.

CONCEIVING it to be the privilege of an Englishman to publish his sentiments on all important occasions, I determined to request the indulgence of my fellow citizens to a few Remarks on the subject of a REGENCY, and the marriage of the PRINCE of WALES with MRS. FITZHERBERT.

And to make the pamphlet more acceptable to that class of readers who are disgusted with POLITICS, I obtained

tained, from the first authority, * some anecdotes of a entertaining nature.

Previously to my sending the manuscript to press, I informed MR. JAMES RIDGWAY, Bookseller, York-street, St. James' Square, of my design to prefix his name to the work.

He returned me an answer, in writing, “ I most sincerely thank you, Sir, for the favor you intend me of putting my name to the pamphlet.”†

¶ Before I proceed in the narrative, it is necessary to inform the PARTY, *alias* the COALITION, *alias* the OPPOSITION, *alias* the political friends of the PRINCE of WALES——*quocunque nomine gaudent*——that Mr. Ridgway was entirely ignorant of the contents, from the first page to the last, till the Printer delivered him the pamphlet for sale. I mention this circumstance, that he may suffer no inconvenience from their displeasure. I can assure the PARTY, with great truth, that had not the Death of Mr. Speaker, and the subsequent examination of the Physicians retarded the progress of the Regency bill, not a syllable of the contents would have transpired 'till the ministry elect had been fixed in their destinations.

Part of the Pamphlets were sent to Mr. Ridgway on Friday the 2d of January, 1789. On the following day, I received a letter by post, stating, that Mr. Ridgway could not think of publishing the pamphlet, as it contained reflections on those for whom he “ entertains the
“ HIGHEST FRIENDSHIP and RESPECT;”

* From such Authority as justifies the Title Page.

† Extract from Mr. Ridgway's letter.

adding, "the pamphlets, Sir, are at your disposal in
" York-street."

I immediately waited on Mr. Ridgway, and to avoid
Tautology of diction, I will comprize the substance of
the conversation, in the form of a dialogue.

W. I have called on you, Mr. Ridgway, in conse-
quence of a letter, stating your apprehensions of giving
offence to certain people, for whom you entertain the
highest friendship and respect.

R. Yes, Sir, I have been frightened out of my life
by some gentlemen who were at my shop yesterday, and
again to day—One of them came from LORD
SYDNEY, and said it would be at my PERIL, if I
sold another pamphlet to any other person whatever.
He declares it is HIGH TREASON, because it asserts
that the PRINCE of WALES is married to Mrs.
FITZHERBERT.

W. My first wish, Mr. Ridgway, is to exculpate you—
my second, to remove the pamphlet to a place of sale IN-
STANTLY.* As to the message from Lord Sydney, it
originates in gross imposition—*somewhere*. It is not entitled
to credit, that a Secretary of State should send a VERBAL
message prohibiting the sale of the pamphlet, under pre-
tence of it's containing HIGH TREASON. Were Lord Syd-
ney to enter the shop, this moment, I would do myself the
honor of selling his Lordship as many as he wished.
If the pamphlet be either treasonable or libellous, the
Courts of Justice are open—let the complaining parties

* I then wrote a few lines, stating, that Mr. Ridgway knew nothing of
the contents of the pamphlet, 'till it was brought from the press.

punish

punish me according to law.—Be so good as to prepare them for removal, and I will send for them immediately.

R. But, Sir, suppose any overtures be made for purchasing the **WHOLE EDITION**? I wish you would leave them **ONE** day only. You shall hear from me to-morrow morning.

W. As to selling the whole edition, I can have no objection. They are printed to be sold. I have consulted with my Printer, concerning an impression in *Octavo*, the sooner, therefore, they are sold the better. I am willing to wait 'till to-morrow morning. Meanwhile I will take a shop, and authorize my servant to sell them, if they be not purchased this day.

NARRATIVE. In the evening, Mr. Ridgway, and some other person, came to Sloan-square. I was in town. A request was left at my house, that I would call the next day, in York-street, (Sunday) between twelve and one, to settle the business.

I thought the circumstance rather odd; and suspected that a **THIRD** person would be present; and a third person was present—a man of sense, and of great circumspection of conduct. Let his name, for the sake of distinction, begin with *D*. Much time was spent in cautious, measured conversation on both sides. I am prepared to make Affidavit of the following particulars.

D It is a pity, Sir, that you have written on the subject of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Mrs. Fitzherbert, just on the point of his being chosen Regent. If Mr. **ROLLE** were to lay hold of the

pamphlet, there would be a pretty commence in the House of Commons. I do not know but it might cause a general commotion.

W. I trust not. Had I the most distant idea that any production of my pen would cause a commotion, I would sacrifice it instantly to the peace of my country—unless it were connected with the LIBERTIES of my Country, and then I would cheerfully encounter all its consequences.

D. I know several at Carlton-house.* I could not conceive what was going forward. Nor had I any idea, for some time, what all the UPROAR was about. It was, at first, suspected that Horne Tooke was the author, and orders were given to prosecute him with the greatest severity. But the difference of style soon cleared him of the charge. I wish the matter were settled in an amicable manner. The pamphlet would sell rapidly, even if the CONVERSATION PIECE between the PRINCE and MRS. FITZHERBERT, and the Remarks on the REGENCY were omitted. And it is an invariable rule with me, when a commodity of any kind can be brought to a good market, it is better to dispose of it at once, than have further trouble about it. Will you be pleased to specify your demand, if the title page be cancelled in the next edition, and the Conversation Piece and the Regency omitted? It is unpleasant to be taken by attachment for TREASON, or to lay in Prison for years for a Libel. Consider, Sir, your family, and the inconveniencies of being separated from them.

* I will not be positive, but, to the best of my belief, he said—I LIVE at Carlton-house.

R. I can assure you, Sir, that the GREAT PEOPLE offended by this pamphlet will proceed against you immediately, and without mercy.

W. Be pleased to remember—once for all—you may as well attempt to pluck the Sun from it's Orbit, as awe me into acceptance of your proposals by THREATS. From whatever quarter they come, by whomsoever they are authorized, I must beg leave to treat them with infinite contempt. I am not ignorant of what constitutes High Treason. Let them proceed by attachment. The merits of the business must be ultimately settled by a JURY; and in the presence of a Jury, I will chearfully meet my accusers.

If there be any particular part or passage which hurts the feelings of the Prince, or Mrs. Fitzherbert, I will readily oblige them by expunging it. But if the request be extended to the suppression of POLITICAL sentiment, His Royal Highness has not a revenue adequate to the purchase. I am a volunteer in the service of my country, and attached to MR. PITT by principle.

As to specifying a sum for cancelling the title page, and omitting the conversation Piece, and such parts of the Remarks on the Regency as affect Mrs. Fitzherbert, I have not the confidence to do it. What may be raised with ease and honor from the public at large, will have the appearance of extortion, if demanded from an individual. Foote required seventeen hundred guineas from the Duchess of Kingston for a similar indulgence, but I neither ask nor desire such a sum. My request is,
that

that you would *deliver my property*, and let me dispose of it *at my peril*.

R. I am confident, **THEY** *will not suffer them to be sold*.

D. Will you be so obliging as to put down in writing what you just now said concerning your difficulty of making a demand? It shall be laid laid before **THEM** directly. It is proper you should be handsomely paid, if you comply with their wishes.

W. I have not the approbation of conscience in this affair. I would rather sell the pamphlet, with the certainty of going to prison, than suppress any part of it. I cannot tell what injury it may be to my country. If it be an object with **THEM** to *retard* the affair, it may be of national importance to bring it forward immediately. It is very mysterious you should wish to purpose **TREASON**, and to reward the Author for writing it.

D. The **PRIVY COUNCIL** have investigated the business, and declared themselves **SATISFIED**. * Besides, it is only at the critical moment of the Prince's being chosen Regent, that the subject is terrifying.

R. The **PRIVY COUNCIL ARE SATISFIED**. And they have resolved to prosecute all who write on the subject.

W. Perfectly ridiculous! I am not of the Privy Council. How was I to know they were satisfied? If they forbid my writing on the subject, it will be the

* I will swear to the words.

strongest inducement in the world for my doing it *instantly*. In the communication of my sentiments to my Fellow Men, I know nothing of the Privy Council, nor will I pay any attention to their commands.

NARRATIVE. After THREE hours spent in threats, entreaties, compliments and overtures, I consented to wait till TEN the next morning.*

At ten, I was requested to have patience till SIX. At six, Mr. Ridgway called on me at a friend's at Charing-cross, informed me that the TWO GENTLEMEN, who had taken up the affair, would not be able to see the GREAT PERSONAGES in PALL-MALL, 'till ELEVEN OR TWELVE at night. He said it was determined to suppress the pamphlet, at all events, that he should be glad when it was done, as he was obliged to "tell lies about it every minute in the day." He concluded with hoping, that I would indulge THEM 'till the morning, when, *positively*, the business should be settled.

At the appointed hour, I sent my servant. No answer. I then made a full, clear, and explicit demand of my property, being determined to be the dupe neither of Mrs. Fitzherbert, nor of the Prince of Wales, nor of the PARTY. Very fortunately, Mr. Ridgway, in his answer, furnished me with full and decisive proof of all that could be desired—*the property—the demand of that property—the refusal to deliver it to my order—the existence of*

* The most persuasive and seducing parts of conversation are lost in a WRITTEN detail.—I mean, FROWNS, NODS, SMILES, and all the eloquence of TONES and EMPHASIS.

HIDDEN Agents——and of a conference with CERTAIN GREAT PERSONAGES, &c. &c.

I then desired Mr. FROST to prosecute the PARTY, by serving Mr. Ridgway with a Copy of Writ. And the business will shortly be decided in a court of law.

REMARKS. When the offensive parts of the Pamphlet were specified, I was filled with astonishment that a certain great personage felt no interest in the honor and reputation of two amiable and innocent ladies. The infamous report, concerning them, is not confined to the Vulgar. I lately heard an *Officer of the Navy* confirm it, with an oath, in a public coffee room. And I thought it my duty to mention it, that it might be refuted. *

But there was no objection to that part of the pamphlet—nor to the Royal Anecdotes—nor, in fact, to any thing that did not relate to the Prince, to Mrs. Fitzherbert, or to the PARTY !!

CONCLUSION. It is absurd to imagine, that a Bookseller would venture to detain property, in violation of law, equity, and the practice of the trade, were he not WELL PAID and WELL SUPPORTED.

I dare not suppose that Mr. Ridgway is in habits of the SINCEREST FRIENDSHIP with the Prince of Wales, or Mrs. Fitzherbert; and as I have mentioned † Mr. Fox, Mr. BURKE, Mr. SHERIDAN, and LORD NORTH, I suppose *they* are his FRIENDSHIPS, and to their kind protection, I sincerely recommend him.

* Were I convinced it is a fact, I would publish it without apology. In the duties of distributive Justice, I am no respecter of persons. But I believe it to be a fabrication of the PARTY; and may the Ladies remember VIRESCIT VULNERE VIRTUS.

† In the Pamphlet.

I have

I have only to add, that this proceeding is a gross, unpardonable infringement of the PRIVILEGES of PARLIAMENT. Letters were sent to the members, soliciting their attention to certain remarks on a very interesting topic—they dispatched their servants for the Pamphlet, but the Bookseller assumes, in his own important person, all the functions of the law, and says—No.—You shall not read these remarks!!

It is in vain we enjoy the liberty of PRINTING, if a Bookseller can prevent our SELLING what we print. But it is to be hoped, that the weight of punishment on this occasion, will deter others from presumptuous attacks on the FREEDOM of the PRESS.



P O S T C R I P T.

IT was declared the other night, in the House of Commons, by Colonel Commis, of Berkeley-square, that Mr. Pitt must admit, either that the Prerogatives of the Crown are unnecessary, or that by refusing to transfer them entire to the Prince of Wales, the Rt. Hon. Gentleman feared that His Highness would make an improper use of them.

Had the Colonel asked whether the MINISTRY of the Prince of Wales would make an improper use of power,

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an honest answer might have been given, without infringing the forms of decorum—YES—in the opinion of every man of rectitude and political information in the kingdom.

To justify this opinion, I need only produce a paragraph from a public paper, “Yesterday a grand council was held at Carlton house, at which were present,

“THE PRINCE OF WALES	LORD NORTH
DUKE OF YORK	LORD LOUGHBOROUGH
DUKE OF CUMBERLAND	LORD SOUTHAMPTON
DUKE OF PORTLAND	SIR T. DUNDAS
EARL OF SANDWICH	Mr. BURKE
EARL FITZWILLIAM	Mr. FOX
LORD STORMONT	Mr. SHERIDAN.”

The illustrious Personage at the head of this list is happy in every thing——except his **POLITICAL ATTACHMENTS.**

The intelligence which I have been able to obtain concerning the Duke of York, is this—His Highness, since his return from Germany, has ordered the Savoy barracks to be dry-rubbed with sand—Has taken BET COX under his royal protection—And is able to drink more wine, than any man of his age in the kingdom.

I pass with reverence His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. To reproach a man for being an Idiot, is an insult to Almighty God.

“House

“ House of Lords, 1779. April, 23. Moved,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to REMOVE the Rt. Hon. John, EARL of SANDWICH, from the office of first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.”

Because it is highly becoming this great council of the nation, to address His Majesty for the removal of any Minister for NEGLECT of DUTY, or INCAPACITY. Signed, PORTLAND—FITZWILLIAM, and twenty-three other Peers.

Because, also, the Navy of England appears to be reduced from what it was in the year 1771, when the present first Lord of the Admiralty succeeded to the head of that board, notwithstanding the IMMENSE Sums granted for it's support and increase since that time. BRISTOL.

There is nothing more valuable in controversy than OBVIOUS FACTS. The merits of the Earl of Sandwich are on record, attested by the Duke of Portland and Earl Fitzwilliam. Now let us ask an honest farmer this simple question. Suppose you had detected the Steward of your Landlord in embezzling his Master's property, and suppose you and your neighbours had communicated his villainy to his Master, and procured his dismissal—would you think yourself justified in recommending this convicted villain to your YOUNG Landlord? Would not your character be irretrievably ruined, were you to accept a JOINT STEWARDSHIP with this man,

F 2

whom

whom you knew to be a rascal? The neighbourhood would certainly conceive me to be as great a villain as the man whom I had formerly accused, and that our COALITION was purely for the sake of plunder.

Now put the same question, gentle reader, to the Duke of Portland and Earl Fitzwilliam, and see whether they can return a better answer. *

The other members of the council are sufficiently known. By a happy association of ideas, their names and their virtues present themselves to the mind at the same instant. Let a man pronounce LORD NORTH, in an audible voice, at High Change, and, in a moment, ideas will be excited of a ruined commerce—a continent deluged in blood—a land of widows and orphans—and a debt unequalled in the annals of the world.

BURKE and FOX! In an instant are recollected their very pathetic appeals to Heaven for the sincerity of their abhorrence of LORD NORTH—the most vehement protestations, by all that is dear and sacred, that they will never rest till they have brought him to atonement for the blood of slaughtered armies, and for treasures wasted in corruption; till they have exposed his ignorance to merited infamy, and appeased the Genius of Albion by his Exit on the Block. We are then lead, by

* I do not know that Lord Sandwich will accept an ostensible part in the new ministry.----It will be sufficient, if he ASSIST the first Lord with his counsel.

an easy transition, to that famous event, the **COALITION**, an event which unmasked the hypocrisy of the heart, and lessened our astonishment at the doctrine of **HEREDITARY RIGHT**, and **UNCONDITIONAL DOMINION**.

SHERIDAN! An orator by profession—a Swiss in the war of Words. A good actor, if you give him time to learn his part—the **FAC TOTUM** of the Cabinet—and ***** the other ideas are imperfect.

STORMONT! “No man was ever held in greater contempt for his own sake, or in greater detestation for the sake of an uncle.” *

LOUGHBOROUGH! “He has been successfully a Whig and a Tory; driven up and kicked down; was never trusted far, because he never could be depended on.” †

SOUTHAMPTON! Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales.

SIR THOMAS DUNDAS! A friend to **HEREDITARY RIGHT**, and **UNCONDITIONAL CONTRoul**.

Such are the **WORTHIES** to whom the commerce, the consequence, and the revenues of this country are shortly to be entrusted—unless Heaven, in mercy, restore our

* Eironiclastes.

† Ditto.

gracious sovereign to his reason. Or POPERY,* as a compensation for the evils of a thousand years, preserve us from destruction.

It, certainly, cannot be thought unpolite, ungenerous, or unjust to believe what this band of Patriots affirm of each other; for if we cannot with safety credit their words, by what Analogy of argument are we justified in placing confidence in their CONDUCT? But if the People of England afford only a slight degree of credit to the most solemn asseverations, it will be inconsistent with the DUTY, the DIGNITY, and the PROSPERITY of the Commonwealth, if they do not rise, as if animated by one soul, and humbly pray His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales *to dismiss from his Councils and Confidence for ever, men whom they abhor.*

It is foreign to my views to say much of the present ministry. The state of the country is the best eulogium on Mr. PITT—it is superior even to public applause.

OF LORD THURLOW, I am not competent to speak with sufficient candor and justice. In very early life, I conceived him to be an enemy to the freedom of the press; and influenced by this belief, I have seized every opportunity of manifesting my contempt and abhorrence. But, in defiance of my prejudices, I must acknowledge the wisdom and rectitude of his present conduct. In particular, the honest and manly language, in which his Lordship expressed his detestation of the novel doctrine of TRANSFERABLE ALLEGIANCE, has

* Mrs. Fitzherbert.

entirely done away my political aversion. Indeed I hope, in charity, that the *quondam* patriot is insane. “ ALLEGIANCE and PROTECTION,” said he “ are reciprocal.”* The maxim I admit. But the application is infamous.—Our gracious sovereign is indisposed, and, for the present, incapable of attending to public business, he ought therefore to be exposed to Crocodiles, on the Banks of the Ganges,† and all our love, and all our Allegiance TRANSFERRED to HIS SON !! MR. Fox ought to be reminded that, in *honest* minds, there is a PERSONAL ATTACHMENT which kindles into a flame at the very idea ! If the People desire to pay for the support of the ACCIDENTAL PREROGATIVES of an afflicted sovereign, it is impertinent in the PARTY to oppose their wishes. “ But the Prince is “ unwilling to impose fresh burdens on the country by “ a new establishment.” Speak out like men—the *Patronage of the Household will afford opposition to your Views*—hinc illæ Lachrymæ, hence this generous anxiety for a burdened People. But they are willing, I repeat it, to sustain the burden, for the security of the KING and COUNTRY.

The name of LORD CAMDEN, ought to be pronounced with particular respect. His opposition to *general warrants*, will render his fame immortal. And had it been possible for him to become additionally dear to his country, his present firmness in supporting the Rights of the People, and his tender solicitude for the

* Mr. Fox's speech.

† Alluding to a horrid custom in the East of leaving the aged, and infirm to be devoured by Crocodiles.

Person

Person and Prerogatives of an afflicted Sovereign, would have elevated him to the summit of human esteem.

Of CARMARTHEN and SYDNEY, it is sufficient praise to remark, they vigorously opposed the *American War*, and are now cooperating with the Cabinet in those salutary Restrictions, which, under divine Providence, may retard our ruin.

F I N I S.



TO THE PUBLIC.

AN exact Copy of the suppressed Pamphlet may be had at the AUTHOR's, the corner of SLOAN-SQUARE, LOWER SLOAN-STREET, CHELSEA; at No. 9, QUEEN-STREET, near DUKE-STREET, GROSVENOR-SQUARE, and no where else.

I beg leave to make my acknowledgements to the Public for the very indulgent reception of *Alfred*, and the *History of the Royal Malady*.

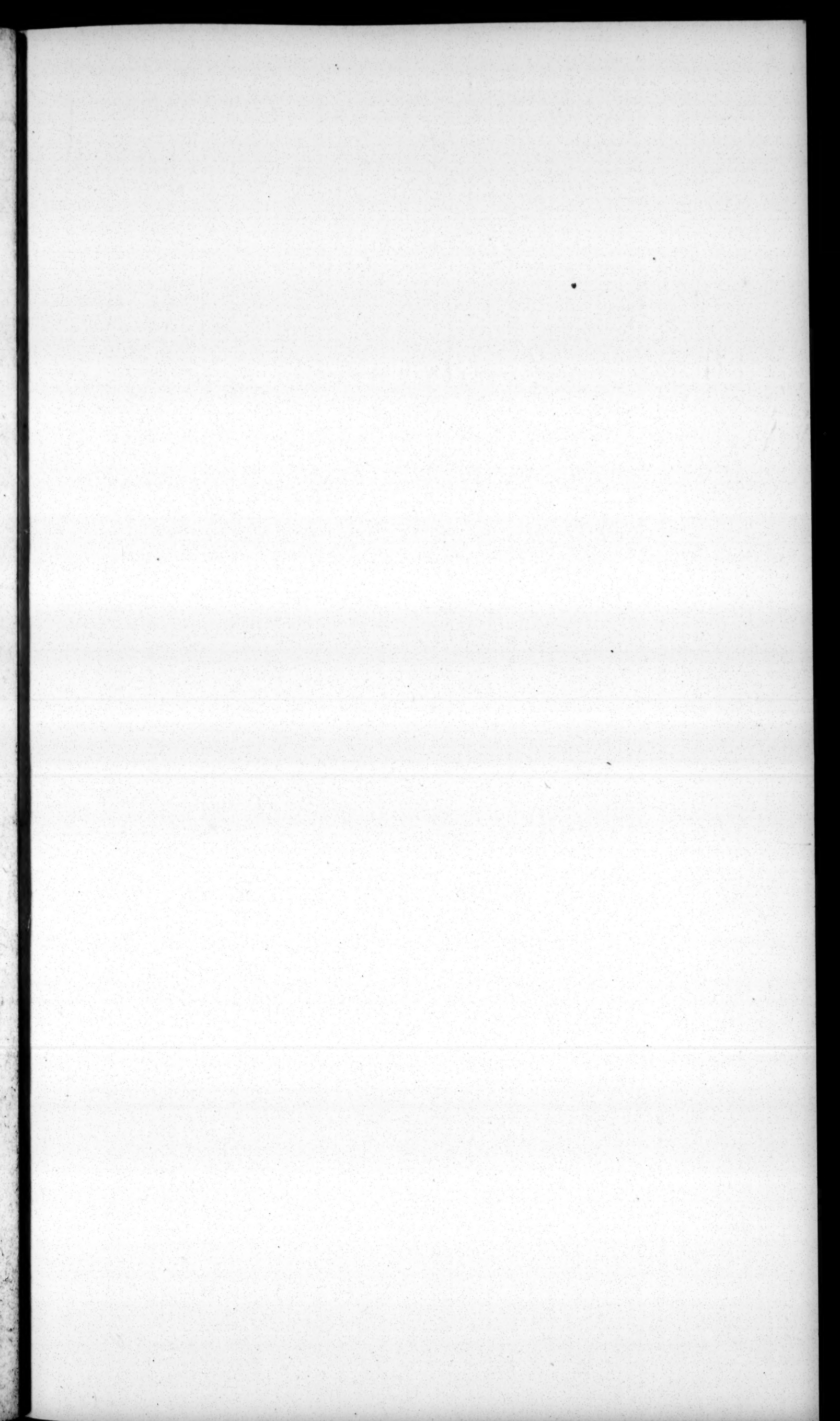
The Partizans of POPERY and FACTION, indeed, rage like madmen; but the former I pity, the latter, I despise. Let them attack me with ARGUMENT. Their miserable invectives only publish the book, and accelerate the sale.

PHILIP WITHERS.

February, 2d,

1789.





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